

Message Text

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0074

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 MONROVIA 3138

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PSDC, EAID, LI, RH, SF, WA, US

SUBJECT: PRESIDENT TOLBERT'S APRIL 30, 1976, MEMORANDUM FOR THE
SECRETARY

1. FOLLOWING IS THE TEXT OF A MEMORANDUM HANDED TO THE SECRETARY
BY PRESIDENT TOLBERT AT THEIR APRIL 30 MEETING. EMBASSY COMMENTS
WILL FOLLOW BY SEPARATE MESSAGE.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

1. THE SPECIAL CASE OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

SOUTHERN AFRICA PRESENTS A SPECIAL CASE TO LIBERIA, AFRICA AND
FREEDOM-LOVING PEOPLES THE WORLD OVER. IN THIS AREA OF AFRICA,
THE WHITE MINORITY REGIMES IN POWER SEEM UNWILLING TO EXTEND TO
THE BLACK MAJORITY FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION IN THE
GOVERNMENT OF THEIR RESPECTIVE COUNTRIES.

BUT THIS IS NOT THE ONLY THORN IN AFRICA'S FLESH. IN SOUTHERN
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AFRICA THE INHUMAN SYSTEM OF APARTHEID IS SPREADING ITS TENACLES

FROM THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA TO OTHER AREAS SUCH AS NAMIBIA AND ZIMBABWE. THIS POLICY, EVEN THOUGH CONDEMNED BY THE OAU, THE UNITED NATIONS AND MUCH OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, SEEMS TO HAVE TAKEN DEEPER ROOTS AND THE WHITE REGIMES APPARENTLY HAVE NO INTENTION OF ABIDING BY RESOLUTIONS OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS OR YIELDING TO PRESSURES FOR MEANINGFUL CHANGE.

PARALLEL TO THIS IS THE DEVELOPMENT IN COUNTRIES OF THAT AREA OF OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE. RECENTLY, CUBAN TROOPS INTERVENED IN ANGOLA, AND CUBA AND THE USSR SEEM BENT ON REMAINING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA UNTIL COLONIALISM IS COMPLETELY ERADICATED, AND MARXIST SOCIALIST OR COMMUNIST GOVERNMENTS INSTALLED AS THEIR COMPENSATION.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, IT IS EVIDENT THAT, SINCE THE FALL OF THE PORTUGUESE COLONIAL EMPIRE IN AFRICA DURING THE COURSE OF THE PAST EIGHTEEN MONTHS, IT HAS BEEN NECESSARY FOR BOTH THE FACIST MINORITY REGIMES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA AND THOSE FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS WHICH HAVE DIRECT OR INDIRECT RELATIONS WITH THESE REGIMES TO REASSESS THE SITUATION IN THAT PART OF AFRICA VIS-A-VIS THE CONFRONTATION BETWEEN AFRICANS AND EUROPEANS.

BRITAIN, THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, WEST GERMANY, ITALY, AND JAPAN, IN THAT ORDER, ARE THE PRINCIPAL INVESTORS IN THE AREAS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA CONTROLLED BY THESE RACIST REGIMES.

THE ECONOMIC AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE WHICH THE RACIST REGIMES RECEIVE FROM SOME OF THESE COUNTRIES SERVE TO PERPETUATE THEIR DENUNCIATORY POLICY OF APARTHEID AND UNDOUBTEDLY ENCOURAGE THE ADAMANT INTRANSIGENCE OF THESE REGIMES.

IT IS NO SECRET THAT UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS AGAINST THESE MINORITY REGIMES HAVE NOT HAD THE KIND OF IMPACT THAT THEY WOULD HAVE HAD ON THE ECONOMIES AND POLITICAL OUTLOOK OF BOTH SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA HAD THEY BEEN FULL SUPPORTED BY ALL THE MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS, AND IN PARTICULAR THE AFOREMENTIONED COUNTRIES.

ON 1ST APRIL 1975, THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL
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VOTED UNANIMOUSLY TO TIGHTEN ECONOMIC SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA IN ORDER TO FORCE THE REBEL IAN SMITH REGIME TO ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE. THIS WAS INDEED A SIGNIFICANT DEVELOPMENT IN THAT THERE WAS NOT ONE DISSENTING VOTE CAST, WHICH REFLECTS, TO SOME EXTENT, A SHIFT IN THE POSITION OF THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS REPRESENTED ON THE SECURITY COUNCIL.

AS A FURTHER INDICATION OF THE APPARENT RE-ASSESSMENT OF

THEIR POLICY ON SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE TWO LEADING WESTERN POWERS WITH INTEREST IN THIS REGION OF AFRICA, BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES, HAVE OF LATE SPOKEN OF THEIR SUPPORT FOR MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT BRITAIN'S FOREIGN SECRETARY (NOW PRIME MINISTER) JAMES CALLAGHAN MADE A MAJOR STATEMENT IN PARLIAMENT A FEW WEEKS AGO OUTLINING THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICY ON RHODESIA, AND INDICATING FOUR PRECONDITIONS FOR BRITAIN'S ENTRY INTO NEGOTIATIONS ON THE FUTURE OF RHODESIA. THESE ARE:

(A) ACCEPTANCE OF THE PRINCIPLE OF MAJORITY RULE;

(B) ELECTIONS FOR MAJORITY RULE TO TAKE PLACE IN 18 MONTHS TO TWO YEARS;

(C) AGREEMENT THAT THERE WILL BE NO INDEPENDENCE BEFORE MAJORITY RULE; AND

(D) NEGOTIATIONS MUST NOT BE LONG DRAWN OUT.

ON 4TH MARCH, 1976, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER, TESTIFYING BEFORE THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, DECLARED:

"WE ARE IN FAVOR OF MAJORITY RULE IN RHODESIA AND WE WILL USE OUR INFLUENCE IN THAT DIRECTION. WE BELIEVE THAT THE GOVERNMENT, OR THE AUTHORITIES OF SOUTHERN RHODESIA ENGAGED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS, HAVE PERHAPS THEIR LAST OPPORTUNITY IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS FOR A PEACEFUL EVOLUTION, AND, THEREFORE, WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THEY WILL TAKE ADVANTAGE OF IT."

"ON THE OTHER HAND, WE ALSO FEEL THAT CUBAN MILITARY FORCES IN THIS SITUATION WOULD PRESENT THE GRAVEST PROBLEMS, AND
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WE CANNOT ACCEPT A PRINCIPLE THAT ANY STATE MUCH LESS A WESTERN HEMISPHERE STATE, HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN ANY CRISIS IN ANY PART OF THE WORLD ON ITS OWN - HAS THE RIGHT TO INTERVENE IN THESE CRISIS WITH MILITARY FORCES."

"AND, THEREFORE, WE WOULD HAVE TO CALL THE ATTENTION OF CUBA TO ACT WITH GREAT CIRCUMSPECTION BECAUSE OUR ACTIONS CANNOT ALWAYS BE DECUED FROM WHAT WE DID IN ANGOLA.

WHILE ON THE ONE HAND FOREIGN SECRETARY CALLAGHAN'S STATEMENT WAS WELCOMED IN MANY QUARTERS IN AFRICA - REJECTED BY SMITH AND THE RACISTS OF RHODESIA - AS A POSITIVE STEP BY THE BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT, U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE HENRY KISSINGER'S STATEMENT EVOKED SOME DISAPPOINTMENT AND UNFAVOUR-ABLE COMMENTS FROM MANY SOURCES AROUND THE CONTINENT, PARTICULARLY IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0075

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BOTH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAVE REPEATEDLY MADE REFERENCES TO POSSIBLE U.S. ACTION AGAINST FURTHER CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. DR. KISSINGER'S STATEMENT, QUOTED ABOVE, IS INDICATIVE OF WHAT APPEARS TO BE THE U.S. GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPT TO INTIMIDATE CUBA AND THUS PREVENT HER GIVING DIRECT MILITARY SUPPORT TO THE AFRICAN NATIONALIST STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE.

BASED ON COVERSATIONS HELD RECENTLY BETWEEN MINISTER OF STATE FOR PRESIDENTIAL AFFAIRS TOWNSEND AND POLITICAL AND OTHER LEADERS DURING HIS TRAVEL TO MOZAMBIQUE, THE PREVAILING OPINION IS THAT IF ZIMBABWE IS TO BE FREED IT MUST BE DONE BY ZIMBABWEANS THEMSELVES AND NOT FOREIGN TROOPS. HOWEVER, IT IS ALSO FELT THAT IF SMITH RECEIVED FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IN HIS CONFRONTATION WITH NATIONALIST FORCES, THEN ZIMBABWEANS SHOULD INVITE FOREIGN TROOPS TO ASSIST THEM TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVE, AND THIS DOES NOT RULE OUT THE PARTICIPATION OF CUBAN TROOPS AND SOVIET EXPERTS.

WITH RESPECT TO NAMIBIA, IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT AT THE

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SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL,(HELD IN JUNE, 1975, THE UNITED STATES, JOINED BY BRITAIN AND FRANCE, VETOED A MAJORITY DRAFT RESOLUTION SUBMITTED BY AFRICAN AND NON-ALIGNED MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL WHICH EMPHASIZED, INTER ALIA, THAT THE ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA BY SOUTH AFRICA CONSTITUTED A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY IN ACCORDANCE WITH CHAPTER 7 OF THE U.N. CHARTER, AND THAT THERE SHOULD THEREFORE BE A MANDATORY EMBARGO ON ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA. THE RESOLUTION ALSO CONSIDERED A FORMULA FOR THE SUPERVISION OF ELECTIONS IN NAMIBIA UNDER U.N. AUSPICES.

THE MAJOR WESTERN POWERS WERE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT THE MODIFIED VERSION OF THIS DRAFT RESOLUTION WHICH STATED THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S ILLEGAL OCCUPATION, IF CONTINUED, WOULD CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY.

THE POSITION OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, AS STATED BY ITS DELEGATE AT THE MEETING, WAS THAT THE COUNCIL SHOULD EXPLORE SOUTH AFRICA'S OFFER (CONTAINED IN A LETTER OF 27TH MAY FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN FOREIGN MINISTER TO THE U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL) TO RESUME A DIALOGUE WITH A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL AND TO ENTER INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH AFRICAN LEADERS, WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL FOR NAMIBIA AND WITH THE OAU COMMITTEE. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT URGED SOUTH AFRICA TO PROVIDE CLARIFICATION OF ITS INTENT FOR THE FUTURE OF NAMIBIA. THE U.S. DELEGATE FURTHER ASSERTED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT STRONGLY FELT THAT SOUTH AFRICA SHOULD ACT IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE TO END ITS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF NAMIBIA, BUT THE SITUATION IN THE TERRITORY DID NOT AS YET CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY WITHIN THE MEANING OF THE CHARTER.

MEETING AGAIN AT THE END OF JANUARY, 1976, TO CONSIDER THE NAMIBIA QUESTION, THE SECURITY COUNCIL UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 385 BY WHICH IT CALLED FOR THE HOLDING OF FREE ELECTIONS IN THAT TERRITORY UNDER U.N. SUPERVISION AND CONTROL IN ORDER TO ENABLE THE PEOPLE OF NAMIBIA TO FREELY DETERMINE THEIR OWN FUTURE. IT FURTHER INDICATED THAT THE COUNCIL WILL REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE SITUATION IN NAMIBIA AND WILL MEET AGAIN ON OR BEFORE AUGUST 31, 1976, TO REVIEW SOUTH AFRICA'S COMPLIANCE WITH THE RESOLUTION.

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THE CONTINUOUS USE OF THE VETO POWER BY THE THREE WESTERN NATIONS - U.S., BRITAIN AND FRANCE - HAS PREVENTED THE SECURITY COUNCIL FROM FORMULATING A FORTHRIGHT POLICY WITH RESPECT TO NAMIBIA. WHILE THEY VASCILLATE AND CALL UPON SOUTH AFRICA TO "CLARIFY HER INTENT" THE INTRANSIGENT VORSTER REGIME CONTINUES TO EXECUTE ITS APARTHEID AND BANTUSTAN POLICIES IN NAMIBIA AND HOLD SO-CALLED CONSTITUTIONAL TALKS ORGANIZED ALONG ETHNIC LINES.

THE CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA ADD A SENSE OF URGENCY AND DEMAND THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE, AND IN PARTICULAR THE WESTERN NATIONS WHOSE AMBIVALENCE HAS ENCOURAGED THE CONTINUED INTRANSIGENCE OF THE PRETORIA REGIME, TAKE FORTHRIGHT AND CONCERTED ACTION NOW TO EFFECTUATE A CHANGE IN THE STATUS OF NAMIBIA PREFERABLY THROUGH PEACEFUL MEANS. THE OPTION OF PEACEFUL CHANGE WILL NOT REMAIN ONE OF THE OPTIONS TO THE RESOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF WHITE MINORITY RULE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA MUCH LONGER.

WE WOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE THAT FREE AFRICA HAS BECOME DISILLUSIONED ABOUT A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE RHODESIAN PROBLEM DUE TO THE INTRANSIGENCE OF THE REBEL IAN SMITH REGIME. MOREOVER, GIVEN THE INCREASING MOMENTUM OF THE NATIONALIST ARMED STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE, DESPITE THE DIVISION AMONG POLITICAL LEADERS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL, THE URGE TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVES WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF CUBAN FORCES CANNOT BE RULED OUT. CONSEQUENTLY, SHOULD THE SECRETARY OF STATE, DR. KISSINGER CONTINUE TO ISSUE STRONG WARNINGS AGAINST CUBAN INVOLVEMENT IN RHODESIA, A GREAT NUMBER OF COUNTRIES IN FREE AFRICA MAY CONSIDER THIS AS A CAMPAIGN BY THE SECRETARY AGAINST THE ASPIRATIONS OF THE AFRICAN PEOPLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

AS LIBERIA IS OPPOSED TO THE BALKANIZATION OF NAMIBIA, IT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED TIMELY TO STATE THAT LIBERIA WILL NOT RECOGNIZE ANY PSEUDO-AUTONOMOUS STATE, ESTABLISHED ALONG ETHNIC LINES WHICH THE VORSTER REGIME IMPOSES ON THE PEOPLE OF THAT TERRITORY OR IN SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF. LIBERIA REJECTS COMPLETELY THE BANTUSTAN POLICY OF SOUTH AFRICA BECAUSE IT IS NOTHING MORE THAN AN EXTENSION AND PERPETUATION OF THE HEINOUS SYSTEM OF APARTHEID.

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THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT FEELS THAT FREE AFRICA WILL NOT RELENT IN ITS COMMITMENT TO THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA AS A UNITARY STATE. WE WOULD LIKE TO REITERATE THE WARNING STATED IN THE DAKAR DECLARATION AND PROGRAM OF ACTION ISSUED BY THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND NAMIBIA, HELD IN DAKAR IN JANUARY, THAT IF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY DOES NOT USE THE MEANS AVAILABLE TO IT TO TERMINATE

SOUTH AFRICA'S PRESENCE IN THE TERRITORY, ALL MEANS, INCLUDING
ARMED STRUGGLE, WOULD BE JUSTIFIED.

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0076

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 5 MONROVIA 3138

GOVERNMENT IS FOLLOWING WITH INTEREST AND SERIOUS CONCERN THE
STRENGTHENING TIES BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SOUTH AFRICA AS
EVIDENCED BY THE RECENT VISIT OF MR. VORSTER TO TEL-AVIV. THE
RAMIFICATIONS OF A CLOSE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THESE TWO STATES AS
THIS PARTICULAR TIME IS A MATTER OF GRAVE CONCERN TO LIBERIA.
SHOULD THE WESTERN POWERS DECIDE TO GENUINELY ENFORCE ARMS
EMBARGO AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, PRETORIA COULD THEN BE SUPPLIED
BY ISRAEL AND THUS CONTINUE ITS MILITARY BUILD-UP IN NAMIBIA.

WE WOULD ACCORDINGLY SUGGEST TO U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE THAT HIS
GOVERNMENT EXPLAIN TO SOUTH AFRICA, IN VERY POSITIVE TERMS,
THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY EXPECTS SOUTH AFRICA TO TAKE
POSITIVE STEPS TOWARDS ALLOWING NAMIBIANS TO FREELY DETERMINE
THEIR OWN FUTURE AS ONE POLITICAL ENTITY BASED ON THE WILL OF
THE MAJORITY. AND THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE ADOPTED BEFORE
THE 31ST AUGUST, 1976, DEADLINE SET BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL
DURING ITS DEBATE OF THE NAMIBIAN QUESTION IN JANUARY, 1976.

WE WOULD FURTHER URGE THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT SHOULD
URGENTLY UNDERTAKE DIPLOMATIC MEASURES DESIGNED TO PERSUADE
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SOUTH AFRICA TO GRANT IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE TO NAMIBIA, AND
APPROPRIATELY URGE MR. SMITH TO MAKE POSSIBLE A PEACEFUL
TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE IN ZIMBABWE WITHOUT FURTHER DELAY.

IT IS NOT ENOUGH FOR THE SECRETARY TO SIMPLY CONDEMN THE
MINORITY REGIMES AND ISSUE STATEMENTS OF SOLIDARITY WITH
AFRICAN STATES. SOME CONCRETE ACTION MUST BE TAKEN BY THE
UNITED STATES TO EFFECTIVELY AID IN THE TOTAL ELIMINATION OF
COLONIALISM AND RACIALISM FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA IN PARTICULAR
AND AFRICA IN GENERAL. AS PRESIDENT TOLBERT NOTED IN HIS LETTER
TO PRESIDENT FORD IN FEBRUARY:

" IT CAN ONLY BE CONSIDERED REALISTIC FOR ONE TO PERCEIVE THAT
WITH THE LEGALIZATION AND LEGITIMIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA, BY THE ACTS OF RECOGNITION BY THE
OAU MEMBERSHIP, THE CUBAN FORCES AND THE SOVIET INTERVENTION
WHICH WERE DECISIVE FACTORS IN THIS MPLA VICTORY ARE NOT
LIKELY TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM ANGOLA IMMEDIATELY. IT WOULD ONLY
BE REASONABLE FOR US TO RECOGNIZE THAT THEY WILL REMAIN TO HELP
CONSOLIDATE THE MPLA IN POWER. MORE THAN THAT, IT IS REASONABLE
TO BELIEVE THAT THE CUBANS AND RUSSIANS COULD CHOOSE TO REMAIN
IN SOUTHERN AFRICA AND ACTIVELY AID THE ON-GOING STRUGGLE TO
LIBERATE NAMIBIA, ZIMBABWE, AND PERHAPS EVEN APARTHEID SOUTH
AFRICA. AND THEY MAY NO DOUBT BE ENCOURAGED BY A UNITED
AFRICA WHICH IS NOW DETERMINED AND WHOLLY COMMITTED TO LIBERATE
ITS CONTINENTAL HOMELAND."

WE NOTE WITH TIMELY INTEREST SECRETARY KISSINGER'S RECENT
STATEMENT THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL TAKE STEPS TO FULFILL
COMPLETELY ITS OBLIGATION UNDER INTERNATIONAL LAW TO MANDATORY
SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA AND WILL URGE THE U.S. CONGRESS THIS
YEAR TO REPEAL THE BYRD AMENDMENT WHICH AUTHORIZES RHODESIAN
CHROME IMPORTS TO THE UNITED STATES, AN ACT INCONSISTENT WITH
UNITED NATIONS SANCTIONS.

II. BILATERAL RELATIONS - U.S. AND LIBERIA

THE LIBERIAN GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE CONTINUE TO ATTACH VALUE
TO THEIR TRADITIONAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT
AND PEOPLE. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE THAT A CHANGING WORLD NECESSARILY
IMPOSES ADJUSTMENTS IN ALL INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS, THE
SPECIAL CHARACTER OF U.S. - LIBERIA RELATIONS COMMANDS AN AD-
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JUSTMENT THAT DOES NOT DIVEST IT OF THE HISTORICAL AFFINITY,
ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND MUTUAL POLITICAL CONSULTATION THAT
REMAIN AT THE BASE OF THE ENTIRE RELATIONSHIP.

LET US URGE A RENEWED RELATIONSHIP BASED ON THE FOLLOWING
FUNDAMENTAL PROPOSITIONS:

1. THAT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS IS REQUIRED
TO HELP SOLVE PROBLEMS OF THE DEVELOPED AS WELL AS
DEVELOPING STATES.

2. THAT COUNTRIES MORE LIKELY TO COOPERATE WITH A COMMON
INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM IF THEY ARE ACHIEVING THEIR
DEVELOPMENT GOALS THAN IF THEY ARE FAILING TO DO SO.

3. THAT ASSISTANCE TO DEVELOPMENT WILL HELP SOLVE SOME
SPECIFIC WORLD PROBLEMS THAT HAVE BECOME IMPORTANT TO THE
UNITED STATES AND OTHER RICH COUNTRIES.

4. THAT A WORLD OF INCREASING DISPARITY BETWEEN RICH AND POOR
IS A DANGEROUS WORLD.

A. UNITED STATES TECHNICAL AND FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA

HISTORICALLY, LIBERIA HAS BEEN ISOLATED WHEN COMPARED WITH
OTHER COUNTRIES IN WEST AFRICA, AND THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE
WITH REGARD TO TRADE AND AID. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LIBERIA
AND ITS PRINCIPAL ALLY, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, HAS BEEN
DOMINATED BY HISTORICAL-DIPLOMATIC CONSIDERATIONS, WHERE AS
THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND THEIR ALLIES
IS CHARACTERIZED BY FINANCIAL, ECONOMIC AND DEVELOPMENT
SUPPORT. WE THEREFORE NEED TO RE-EXAMINE AND REAPPRAISE THIS
SITUATION. LIBERIA BELIEVES THAT THE MANIFESTATIONS OF
"SPECIAL RELATIONS" SHOULD BE CHARACTERIZED BY CONTINUING AND
INCREASING ASSISTANCE IN THE IMPORTANT AREA OF TRADE, AID AND
SPECIAL GRANT ARRANGEMENTS, COMMENSURATE WITH THE NEEDS OF THE
DEVELOPING COUNTRY WITH WHICH SPECIAL TIES EXIST.

COMMONWEALTH PREFERENCES, EEC PREFERENCES, (TRADE AND AID)
THE UNITED STATES SPECIAL ARRANGEMENT WITH THE PHILIPPINES AND
SOME OTHER COUNTRIES ILLUSTRATE SPECIFICALLY SUCH "SPECIAL
TIES." IN THESE RELATIONSHIPS, MEANINGFUL AND SIGNIFICANT
CONTRIBUTIONS ARE MADE IN INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT AND IN
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BROAD INTERSECTORAL BALANCE.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE STATISTICAL MEASURE OFTEN EMPLOYED AS
INDICES OF LEVELS OF GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT CONTRIBUTE
CONSIDERABLE DISTORTION IN THE DETERMINATION OF OUR NEED FOR
BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL ASSISTANCE. THE USE OF PER CAPITA

INCOME HAS SERIOUS LIMITATION FOR COUNTRIES WITH ONE OR TWO COMMODITIES WHICH SIGNIFICANTLY INFLUENCE THE LEVEL OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AS IN THE CASE OF LIBERIA, WHERE IRON ORE ACCOUNTS FOR 30 PERCENT OF GDP AND THREE QUARTERS OF EXPORT, AND RUBBER 6 PERCENT OF GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT AND 12 PERCENT OF EXPORTS.

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FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0077

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WHILE LIBERIA IS NOT CATEGORIZED AS ONE OF THE LEAST DEVELOPED AMONG THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, IN TERMS OF MICRO CONSIDERATIONS ITS NEEDS IN INFRASTRUCTURAL DEVELOPMENT ARE GREATER THAN SOME OF THE COUNTRIES SO CLASSIFIED. FOR EXAMPLE, ROADS IN WEST AFRICA: THE FOLLOWING TABLE SHOWS THAT LIBERIA HAS THE LOWEST LEVEL OF ROADS CONSTRUCTED IN RELATION TO BOTH ITS ACTUAL AND EXPECTED POPULATION.

COUNTRY	ACTUAL KM/1000 PEOPLE		EXPECTED KM/1000 PEOPLE	RATIO
LIBERIA	1.9	3.9		0.49
SENEGAL	4.1	3.8		1.06
GHANA	3.3	3.4		1.15
SIERRA LEONE	3.3	3.1		1.06

GUINEA 3.3 2.6 1.27

A SIMILAR EXAMPLE COULD BE GIVEN IN THE AREA OF LITERACY WHICH, COMPARED WITH OTHER WEST AFRICAN COUNTRIES, LIBERIA'S LEVEL IS ONLY 24 PERCENT RANGING FROM THE AGE OF 5 UPWARD, WHICH IS VERY LOW. GOVERNMENT'S INTENTION IS TO INCREASE THE CONFIDENTIAL

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LEVEL TO 40 PERCENT OVER THE PLANNED PERIOD OF 4-8 YEARS.

THERE IS A TENDENCY TO UTILIZE STEREOTYPE STATISTICAL ARGUMENTS IN DISCUSSING OUR ECONOMIC COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. FOR EXAMPLE, DISCOUNTING THE IMPORT OF IRON ORE, INCOME PER CAPITA IS NO MORE THAN \$70.00 FOR ABOUT 74 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WHILE THE NATIONAL ESTIMATED AVERAGE OF \$210.00 TENDS TO DISTORT THE PICTURE AND NULLIFY LIBERIA'S NEED FOR AID AND ASSISTANCE.

RECOGNIZING THAT AGRICULTURE IS THE PREDOMINANT PREOCCUPATION OF 80 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION, GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS BEEN CONCERNED WITH THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS SECTOR THROUGH A PROGRAMMED (SIC) WHICH WOULD NOT ONLY MAKE THE SUBSISTENCE SECTOR SELF-FINANCING BUT ALSO A PRODUCTIVE AND VIABLE SECTOR CAPABLE OF SUSTAINED GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

THE FIRST RECORD OF TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE COOPERATION AGREEMENT BETWEEN LIBERIA AND THE UNITED STATES WAS SIGNED IN 1955. SINCE THEN, ALL BILATERAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMMES ENTERED INTO BY BOTH COUNTRIES HAVE OPERATED WITHIN THE BROAD CONTEXT OF THIS AGREEMENT.

AT FIRST, U.S. ASSISTANCE EXTENDED TO A VARIETY OF FIELDS SUCH AS AGRICULTURE, DEMOGRAPHY, GEOLOGICAL SURVEYS, PUBLIC EDUCATION, ETC. SINCE 1972, HOWEVER, LIBERIA HAS COME UNDER THE U.S. CHANGED GLOBAL AID-GIVING STRATEGY.

PRESENTLY IN LIBERIA, U.S. AID HAS CHOSEN TWO AREAS FOR DIRECT INVOLVEMENT: (1) INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT THROUGH BALANCED REGIONAL PLANNING AND (2) PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION. INCIDENTALLY, THESE AREAS HAVE BEEN AWARDED THE FIRST AND THIRD PRIORITIES FOR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT BY THE NATIONAL PLANNING COUNCIL OF LIBERIA.

WITHIN THE LAST THREE YEARS AID'S PROGRAMME HAS BEEN MODIFIED TO THE EXTENT THAT IT INCLUDES ONLY ONE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT OUTSIDE ITS STATED AREAS OF CONCENTRATION AND THAT IS THE NATIONAL MEDICAL CENTER, FOR WHICH AID HAS A LONG-TERM COMMITMENT.

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TOTAL FOREIGN ASSISTANCE TO LIBERIA BEGAN AN IMPRESSIVE UPWARD TREND IN THE EARLY 60'S. SINCE THE INCEPTION OF THIS HISTORIC TREND IN AID'S DONATIONS, THE U.S. CONTINUED TO HOLD PROMINENCE AS FIRST PLACE BILATERAL DONOR, UNTIL RECENTLY WHEN GERMAN ASSISTANCE BECAME MORE.

OUT OF A TOTAL COMMITMENT OF \$53.2 MILLION OVER 1972-1977, ACTUAL DISBURSEMENTS AMOUNTED TO \$34.4 MILLION. THIS IS A REFLECTION OF THE LAG BETWEEN COMMITMENT AND DISBURSEMENT.

WITH THE PREPARATION OF THE PRESENT FOUR-YEAR SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF LIBERIA, GOVERNMENT'S EFFORT TO DEVELOP THE WHOLE ECONOMY IS TAKING A DEFINITE SHAPE; AND THE EMPHASIS ON AGRICULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS, USING THE INTEGRATED RURAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH, IS TIMELY FOR U.S. ASSISTANCE.

AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE VISIT TO LIBERIA OF MR. DANIEL PARKER, THE CURRENT ADMINISTRATOR OF USAID, HE EXPRESSED THE WILLINGNESS OF HIS GOVERNMENT, WITHOUT SPECIFIC COMMITMENTS, TO ASSIST THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA TO ACHIEVE ITS GOALS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

B. UNITED STATES - LIBERIA PROJECTS

THE FOLLOWING PROJECTS REPRESENT SOME OF THE CRITICAL AREAS IN WHICH DISCUSSION HAVE COMMENCED, BUT NO FINAL UNDERSTANDING HAS BEEN REACHED. CERTAIN DIFFICULTIES HAVE ARISEN BECAUSE OF GENERAL CONSTRAINT IN U.S. POLICY. IT IS HOPED THAT WHAT APPEARS TO BE DIFFICULTIES IN FINALIZING THESE ITEMS, WILL BE RESOLVED.

1. THE JFK MEDICAL CENTER

THIS PROJECT IS NOW UNDER REVIEW. IT IS THE WISH OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA THAT U.S. ASSISTANCE WILL CONTINUE IN THIS AREA AND NOT BE PREMATURELY TERMINATED IN JUNE 1977.

2. THE UNITED STATES EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION IN LIBERIA

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EVEN THOUGH THE FUNDS DISBURSED BY THIS FOUNDATION ARE COMMITTED TO AN IMPORTANT PRIORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT

OF LIBERIA'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM, THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA IS NOT RECEIVING THE FULL BENEFIT INTENDED TO BE CONVEYED BY THIS WAIVER AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THE METHOD BY WHICH THE FUNDS ARE DISBURSED. THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT HAS USED THE VEHICLE OF THE U.S. EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION WHICH ON SELECTED BASIS PROVIDED BOTH LOCAL AND FOREIGN FELLOWSHIPS IN ADDITION TO CERTAIN OTHER EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS. CERTAINLY THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA THROUGH ITS PROGRAM OF SELF-RELIANCE IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO DETERMINE THE MOST APPROPRIATE WAY OF MEETING ITS EDUCATIONAL COMMITMENTS AND IN THIS REGARD THERE SEEMS NO NEED FOR A SEPARATE ORGANIZATION TO BE ESTABLISHED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES FOR DISBURSEMENT OF THE BALANCE OF THE LOAN.

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ACTION AF-08

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 IO-13

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 AID-05 COME-00 EB-07

FRB-03 TRSE-00 XMB-02 OPIC-03 CIEP-01 LAB-04 SIL-01

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THE FULL EFFECT OF DISBURSING THESE FUNDS WOULD BE GREATLY MAXIMIZED IF THEY WERE DISBURSED DIRECTLY BY THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA WHICH IS IN A BETTER POSITION TO RESPONSIBLY DETERMINE HOW AND IN WHAT MANNER DISBURSEMENTS SHOULD BE MADE TO OUR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM.

IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE AND PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION THIS IS LIKELY TO MAKE TO OUR EDUCATIONAL PROGRAM, IT IS PROPOSED THAT A TRUST FUND BE SET UP TO BE ADMINISTERED BY A BI-NATIONAL BOARD, CHAIRED BY AN OFFICIAL OF THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA.

3. COMMUNICATION

THERE IS NEED TO DEVELOP COMMUNICATION IN LIBERIA SO AS TO ENABLE A GREATER NUMBER OF PEOPLE TO ENJOY AND PARTICIPATE IN THE MONEY ECONOMY. THE TELECOMMUNICATION PROJECT FOR WHICH U.S. ASSISTANCE HAS BEEN SECURED IS CONFIDENTIAL

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NOW IN PROGRESS BUT IS EXPERIENCING SOME OVER-RUNS BECAUSE OF THE WORLD-WIDE INFLATIONARY SITUATION. THE U.S. IS NOT PREPARED TO ASSIST US TO OVER COME THIS BOTTLENECK BECAUSE OF ITS NEW FISCAL POLICY. IT IS URGENTLY NECESSARY THAT SOMETHING BE DONE IN THE PROMISES TO REMEDY THE SITUATION.

4. HOUSING

SOME THREE TO FOUR YEARS AGO, THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA APPROACHED THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE ISSUE OF A GUARANTEED LOAN OF \$15 MILLION FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOW-COST HOUSING. THE AMOUNT WAS OBLIGATED BY THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, BUT DISBURSEMENT WAS CONTINGENT ON A FEW CONDITIONS, AMONG WHICH WERE:

A. THE ACQUISITION OF THE MATADI LAND.

B. THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT OF A HOUSING AND SAVINGS BANK.

UNFORTUNATELY, SOME SNAGS DEVELOPED IN GOVERNMENT'S ATTEMPTS TO MEET THE CONDITIONS REFERRED TO ABOVE. AS A RESULT OF DELAYS IN MEETING THE ABOVE PRE-CONDITIONS BY GOVERNMENT THE FUNDS WERE DE-OBLIGATED IN 1974. AFTER SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSION AND RE-NEGOTIATION, THE FUNDS WERE THEN RE-OBLIGATED AND SHOULD BE AVAILABLE FOR THIS PROJECT UP TO JUNE 30, 1976.

IN REVIEWING THIS PROJECT WITH USAID DIRECTOR WE WERE INFORMED THAT THE NEW EMPHASIS ON USAID ASSISTANCE FOR HOUSING MAY LIKELY PREVENT THE USE OF THE FUNDS FOR THE MATADI PROJECT. AS THE DESIGN OF THE HOUSES ARE FOR MIDDLE LEVEL INCOME AND INFLATION HAS MADE THIS EVEN HIGHER IN COST, THEY COULD NOT BE CONSIDERED LOW-COST HOUSES, WHICH IS NOT THE EMPHASIS FOR U.S. GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE IN HOUSING.

IN RESPONSE TO THIS SITUATION WE HAVE PROPOSED THAT
PERHAPS THE \$15 MILLION COULD STILL BE UTILIZED FOR THE PROJECT
AND OTHER HOUSING ARRANGEMENTS FOR LOW-COST HOUSING IF THE
U.S. COULD CONSIDER (RATHER THAN GUARANTEE) A LONG-TERM CON-
CESSIONARY LOAN ARRANGEMENT (SAY FOR 40 YEARS) INCLUDING A
GRACE PERIOD, AND AT A LOW INTEREST RATE (SAY 2 - 2 1/2 PER
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CENT).

THIS APPROACH WE THINK COULD BE FOUND USEFUL IN LOW-COST HOUSING
PROGRAM CONSIDERING THE INCOME LEVEL OF PEOPLE TO BE SERVED.
COMMERCIAL LENDING ARRANGEMENT COULD NOT BE APPROPRIATE.

WE WOULD REQUEST WITH EMPHASIS THAT FUNDS COMMITTED SHOULD
NOT BE DE-OBLIGATED AS HOUSING IS A PRIORITY; SECONDLY THAT THE
U.S. ACCEPT (RATHER THAN GUARANTEE) A LONG-TERM ARRANGEMENT
FOR OUR HOUSING PROGRAM.

C. TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE

THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA, IN PURSUANCE OF ITS DESIRE
TO DIFFUSE THE BENEFITS OF DEVELOPMENT THAT HAVE ACCRUED TO
THE COUNTRY OVER THE LAST DECADE, LAUNCHED A NATIONWIDE
PROGRAM ENTITLED: RALLY TIME.

THE CONCEPT BEHIND THIS PROGRAM WAS TO GENERATE FUNDS,
THROUGH PARTICIPATORY AND VOLUNTARY EFFORTS, THAT WOULD ENABLE
GOVERNMENT TO PLAN A CRASH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM TO BE LAUNCHED
SIMULTANEOUSLY THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

ACCORDINGLY, THE PROCEEDS FROM THE RALLY TIME EFFORTS WERE
DISBRIBUTED BY COUNTIES AND WERE DEPLOYED TO OCCASION
SIMULTANEOUS DEVELOPMENT. RESOURCES FROM OTHER GOVERNMENT
AGENCIES WERE ALSO DIRECTED TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF GOVERN-
MENT AGENCIES WERE ALSO DIRECTED TOWARD THE REALIZATION OF
GOVERNMENT DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY.

THE MINISTRY OF DEFENSE IS PRESENTLY PARTICIPATING IN THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF SELF-HELP PROJECTS MAINLY IN RURAL LIBERIA.
THE MINISTRY IS INVOLVED IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF MUCH NEEDED
FARM-TO-MARKET ROADS, SCHOOLS FOR RURAL COMMUNITIES AND
CLINICS. THE MINISTRY CARRIES OUT ACTUAL CONSTRUCTION AND
CLEARING IN AREAS IN MONTSERRADO COUNTY, BONG COUNTY AND IN
GRAND CAPE MOUNT COUNTY.

HOWEVER, THE PACE OF WORK LEAVES MUCH TO BE DESIRED
DUE TO LIMITED SUPPLY OF EQUIPMENT FOR SUCH WORK. IN ORDER TO
WORK AT THE REQUISITE SPEED AND THUS MEET THE PRESIDENT'S

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OBJECTIVE FOR COMPLETING THESE PROJECTS, THE BELOW LISTED
QUANTITY AND VARIETY OF EQUIPMENT ARE NEEDED:

4 ROAD GRADERS

13 DOZERS (8D7 & 5D8)

3 LOWBEDS

3 SCOOP LOADERS

36 DUMP TRUCKS (CAPACITY 5-6 CUBIC YARDS)

1 CRANE TRACK

2 FUEL TANKERS (CAPACITY 1200 GALLONS EACH)

1 PRO CRAN

14 CONCRETE MIXERS

4 1/4 TON VEHICLES

THE MINISTRY HAS ALSO STARTED AN INTENSIVE PROGRAM IN THE
TRAINING OF ITS PERSONNEL TO OPERATE AND MAINTAIN SUCH
EQUIPMENT.

ANY ASSISTANCE THAT CAN BE FORTHCOMING IN PROVIDING FOR
THESE NEEDS WOULD BE HIGHLY APPRECIATED.

D. SPECIAL REQUEST FROM THE DIRECTOR - GENERAL UNESCO

A SPECIAL REQUEST HAS COME IN FROM THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL
OF UNESCO THROUGH UNESCO OFFICE IN NAIROBI THAT REGARDING
FINANCIAL CONSTRAINTS WHICH THE ORGANIZATION HAS BEEN
EXPERIENCING OVER THE LAST TWO YEARS DUE TO CONTRIBUTION IN
RETALIATION FOR ANTI-ISRAEL ATTITUDES OF THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES,
THE DIRECTOR-GENERAL IS REQUESTING THE AFRICAN AUTHORITIES
THROUGH WHOSE CAPITALS DR. KISSINGER WILL TRAVEL TO REQUEST
THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO RECONSIDER HIS GOVERNMENT'S
DECISION IN THE INTEREST OF UNESCO'S WORK.

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IT IS OUR EARNEST HOPE THAT THIS TIMELY REQUEST WOULD
GRACIOUSLY RECEIVE THE FAVOURABLE CONSIDERATION OF THE
AMERICAN GOVERNMENT. END TEXT.
CARTER

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